

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 284730

FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG FROM UNDERSECRETARY HABIB

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS:PORG, UNGA, SF

SUBJECT:VOTING INSTRUCTIONS FOR ANTI-APARTHEID
RESOLUTIONS

REF: A) USUN 4972; B) USUN 4694

1. IN PREPARING VOTING INSTRUCTIONS FOR ANTI-APARTHEID
RESOLUTIONS, DEPARTMENT GAVE PARTICULAR CONSIDERATION
TO YOUR VIEWS (REF A) ON RESOLUTIONS COVERING
"ASSISTANCE TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS" AND "SITUATION
IN SOUTH AFRICA." WE SHARE YOUR CONCERN OVER IMPACT
WHICH NEGATIVE US VOTE ON THESE TWO RESOLUTIONS COULD
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HAVE ON POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT IN OUR RELATIONS WITH
AFRICAN STATES. AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, WE FEEL THAT
THESE RESOLUTIONS DO CONTAIN STATEMENTS WHICH GO
BEYOND WHAT WE ARE ABLE TO ACCEPT AND WHICH COULD CREATE
DANGEROUS PRECEDENTS FOR FURTHER ACTION IN THE UN
CONTEXT. THIS IS PARTICULARLY TRUE OF OPERATIVE PARA-
GRAPH ONE OF THE RESOLUTION ON "THE SITUATION IN SOUTH

AFRICA," WHERE THE USE OF THE TERM "ILLEGITIMATE" TO REFER TO THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA CAUSES US SERIOUS PROBLEMS.

2. IN LINE WITH THE ABOVE CONSIDERATIONS, YOU SHOULD MAKE STRONG EFFORT TO PERSUADE OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES, IN PARTICULAR MEMBERS OF CONTACT GROUP, TO JOIN WITH US IN VOTING AGAINST THE RESOLUTION ON THE "SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA." IN DISCUSSIONS WITH OTHER CONTACT GROUP MEMBERS, MISSION SHOULD POINT OUT IMPACT WHICH ABSTENTION ON THIS RESOLUTION, EVEN IF ACCOMPANIED WITH STATEMENTS OF RESERVATION, COULD HAVE ON NAMIBIA NEGOTIATIONS. FACT THAT MCHENRY AND OTHERS DUE TO ARRIVE IN PRETORIA DECEMBER 1, I.E., ON EVE OF LIKELY VOTE, SHOULD ALSO BE CITED. (WITH THIS IN MIND, YOU SHOULD SEEK TO POSTPONE VOTE BEYOND CONTACT GROUP'S SCHEDULED DECEMBER 5 DEPARTURE FROM PRETORIA.) YOU SHOULD POINT OUT ADDITIONALLY THAT OPERATIVE PARA 5 OF RESOLUTION IS PROBABLY AIMED AT ESTABLISHING BASIS FOR ARGUING THAT CONTINUATION OF DIPLOMATIC AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA CONSTITUTES "COLLABORATION" AND IS THUS A "HOSTILE ACT AGAINST THE PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS." MOREOVER, CHARACTERIZATION OF SAG AS "ILLEGITIMATE" SEEMS TO PUT UN IN THE BUSINESS OF "DERECOGNIZING" A GOVERNMENT WHICH IS THE GOVERNMENT

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OF A MEMBER STATE. SHOULD YOUR EFFORTS PROVE UNSUCCESSFUL, YOU ARE AUTHORIZED TO JOIN WITH THE OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES IN ABSTAINING ON THIS RESOLUTION. IN THIS EVENT, SEPARATE MESSAGE WILL GIVE YOU MATERIAL TO USE EXPRESSING OUR RESERVATIONS ON SPECIFIC SECTIONS OF THIS RESOLUTION. IN VIEW OF FACT THAT SIX OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES ARE NOW PREPARED TO VOTE AGAINST RESOLUTION ON "ASSISTANCE TO NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT," YOU SHOULD JOIN THEM IN CASTING NEGATIVE VOTE.

3. ON OTHER 13 ANTI-APARTHEID RESOLUTIONS, YOU SHOULD VOTE AS FOLLOWS:

A) INTERNATIONAL ANTI-APARTHEID YEAR - DEPARTMENT CONCURS IN MISSION'S RECOMMENDATION THAT WE VOTE YES WITH RESERVATION ON OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 2.

B) TRADE UNION ACTION - DEPARTMENT CONCURS IN MISSION'S RECOMMENDATION TO VOTE YES WITH RESERVATION ON PREAMBULAR PARA 1 DUE TO ITS REFERENCE TO REPORT ON JUNE 1977 MEETING, WHICH CONTAINS EXTREME PROPOSALS.

C) RELATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA -
VOTE NO ON THIS RESOLUTION WHICH IS BOTH FACTUALLY

INACCURATE AND UNFAIR IN SINGLING OUT ONE COUNTRY FOR
CONDEMNATION.

D) POLITICAL PRISONERS - MISSION MAY VOTE FOR THIS
RESOLUTION. HOWEVER, WE CANNOT AGREE TO COSPONSORSHIP,
AND MISSION SHOULD MAKE STATEMENT THAT RESOLUTION
UNFORTUNATELY PREJUDGES SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S
HANDLING OF ALL CASES INVOLVING POLITICAL PRISONERS,
FACTS ON MANY OF WHICH ARE LACKING.

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E) MILITARY/NUCLEAR COLLABORATION - VOTE NO.

F) ECONOMIC COLLABORATION - VOTE NO.

G) DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION - VOTE YES WITH
RESERVATION ON OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 6. MISSION SHOULD
ALSO, IN STATING RESERVATION, MAKE CLEAR OUR HOPE THAT
SPECIAL COMMITTEE AND CENTER AGAINST APARTHEID WILL
MAKE EFFORT TO INSURE THAT MATERIAL WHICH THEY
DISSEMINATE IS OBJECTIVE. OUR CONCERN ON THIS POINT
REFLECTS FACT THAT SPECIAL COMMITTEE AND CENTER HAVE
IN PAST RELEASED INFORMATION CONTAINING OUTRIGHT LIES
ABOUT US INVOLVEMENT WITH SOUTH AFRICA.

H) WORK PROGRAM OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE -
ABSTAIN. OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 8A OF THIS RESOLUTION
COULD BE INTERPRETED AS ENCOURAGING INTERNATIONAL
CAMPAIGNS AGAINST CURRENT US POLICY OF MAINTAINING
ECONOMIC AND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA.

I) WORLD CONFERENCE AGAINST APARTHEID - VOTE YES
WITH RESERVATION REGARDING TREATMENT OF LAGOS
DECLARATION IN OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH ONE.

J) TRUST FUND FOR SOUTH AFRICA - VOTE YES.

K) APARTHEID IN SPORTS - WE AGREE WITH MISSION'S
RECOMMENDATION THAT WE ABSTAIN ON THIS RESOLUTION. IN
EXPLAINING VOTE, MISSION MAY WISH TO POINT OUT THAT WE
NEITHER ENCOURAGE NOR DISCOURAGE SPORTS CONTACTS WITH
SOUTH AFRICA. MOREOVER, IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR US
UNDER US LAW TO IMPLEMENT THIS RESOLUTION.

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L) SWEDISH RESOLUTION ON INVESTMENT - YOU
SHOULD ABSTAIN.

RESOLUTION ALSO STATES AS
FACT THAT INVESTMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA AID AND ABET
APARTHEID, WHICH WE DO NOT ACCEPT.

M) BANTUSTANS - VOTE YES, WITH RESERVATION ON
OPERATIVE PARA 6. USG DOES NOT SUPPORT CUTTING OFF OF
TRAVEL AND CONTACTS, EVEN IN CASES WHEN WE ARE IN
COMPLETE DISAGREEMENT WITH POLICIES OF COUNTRY TO BE
VISITED.

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